

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NSCE-00 SY-05 MCT-01 COME-00 ACDA-12  
TRSE-00 HA-05 OMB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
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FM AMCONSUL MILAN  
TO AMEMBASSY ROME  
SECSTATE WASHDC 5920

C O N F I D E N T I A L MILAN 0488

DEPT PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR DR. BREZINSKI

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: IT PINT  
SUBJECT: LOMBARDY REGION PRESIDENT ON POST-MORO POLITICAL CLIMATE

1. AMBASSADOR GARDNER MET CESARE GOLFARI, PRESIDENT OF LOMBARDY'S REGIONAL GOVERNMENT MARCH 29. GOLFARI IS POWERFUL AND EFFECTIVE LEFT WING (BASE) DC LEADER WHOSE GOVERNMENT WITH SOCIALISTS ONE OF FEW TO SURVIVE IN ITALY. PCI HAS BEEN GIVING EXTERNAL SUPPORT AND NOW ABOUT TO ENTER MAJORITY WITHOUT ENTERING CABINET.

2. GOLFARI SAID EFFECT OF MORO KIDNAPPING HAD BEEN SHARPLY TO INCREASE DC TOUGHNESS TOWARD PCI. DC MEMBERS TOOK POSITION THAT WHILE PCI NOT DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR BRIGATE ROSSE OR TERRORISM, YEARS OF PCI CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL INDOCTRINATION HAD CREATED MILIEU FROM WHICH THIS TERRORISM HAD SPRUNG. COMMUNISTS WERE BUSY DENYING RESPONSIBILITY AND TAKING DISTANCE FROM BRIGATE ROSSE. BUT AS MANIFESTO GROUP OF LEFT DISSIDENTS INSISTED CORRECTLY, BRIGATE ROSSE THEMES OF TODAY WERE THOSE OF PCI ITSELF IN PAST.

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3. THIS ASSOCIATION OF PCI WITH TERRORISM IS HURTING AND EMBARRASSING COMMUNISTS AND CAUSING TROUBLE FOR BERLINGUER. IT CONTRIBUTED TO PCI SEARCH FOR OTHERS TO BLAME -- E.I., PCI OFFICIAL MACALUSO HAD IMPLICATED US IN MARCH 28 L'UNITA', WHICH WAS OUTRAGEOUS SAID GOLFARI.

4. THERE WERE TWO EQUALLY CONVINCING THEORIES ABOUT IMPACT OF

KIDNAPPING. ONE SAW THIS AS BENEFITTING DC AND HURTING PCI. OTHER SAW PCI MOVING CLOSER TO POWER ON WAVE OF "EMERGENCY" THEME. GOLFARI SAID HE COULD NOT SAY WHICH WAS RIGHT BUT KNEW THAT DC RANK AND FILE WANTED SOMETHING DONE AND WANTED EVER BETTER PROOF FROM PCI OF ITS BONA FIDES. THAT EXPLAINED, IN PART HE SAID, WHY PCI SO BUSY CONDEMNING BRIGATE ROSSE.

5. IN ELECTORAL TERMS, DC DIVIDED ON BEST STRATEGY TO DEFEAT PCI. BOTH HIS BASE GROUP AND DE CAROLIS-MAZZOTTA WANTED TO KEEP PCI OUT OF GOVERNMENT. QUESTION WAS WHETHER PROMPT CONFRONTATION OR DELAYED ONE MOST PRODUCTIVE. DE CAROLIS ET AL FAVORED IMMEDIATE SHOW-DOWN WHILE BASE GROUP WANTED DELAY AS LONG AS POSSIBLE. LATTER STRATEGY ASSUMED CORRECTLY IN GOLFARI'S VIEW , THAT PCI LOST ELECTORAL GROUND AS IT SHARED RESPONSIBILITY FOR GOVERN -  
MENT, SHOWED THAT IT HAD NO MAGIC SOLUTIONS AND STIMULATED DISSENT WITHIN PCI ITSELF.

6. THEREFORE POSSIBLE THAT AFTER PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, DC MIGHT WANT TO CONTINUE PRESENT ROME GOVERNMENT WHILE PCI MIGHT WANT TO GO FOR EARLY ELECTIONS AND ASK INCLUSION IN CABINET TO FORCE THEM. DC WOULD NEVER AGREE TO THAT PRIOR TO LAST CHANCE TRY AT NATIONAL ELECTIONS, ACCORDING TO GOLFARI.

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7. WERE BRIGATE ROSSE GETTING FOREIGN AID? GOLFARI SAID ONLY US COULD SAY SINCE ITALIAN COVERT SERVICES USELESS. HE WAS NOT SUGGESTING US INVOLVEMENT, WHICH WAS ABSURD, BUT THAT OF EASTERN EUROPE. HE STRONGLY REJECTED IDEA THAT SUCH BRUTAL TERRORISM COULD BE ITALIAN. IT HAD TO BE IMPORTED. ITALIANS BLEW OFF STEAM. THEY DIDN'T KILL PEOPLE IN COLD BLOOD.

8. WHAT SHOULD THE US POSTURE BE?

9. GOLFARI WELCOMED US JANUARY 12 STATEMENT AS CONSISTENT WITH US POSITION AND HELPFUL TO ITALIANS OPPOSED TO PCI. EVEN SOME WHO HAD CONDEMNED US AT TIME WERE NOW FAVORABLE TO US HAVING TAKEN CLEAR POSITION.

10. GOLFARI, IN FACT, ARGUED THAT US SHOULD BE DOING SAME ON VARIOUS OTHER ISSUES. US WAS DE FACTO LEADER OF WESTERN WORLD AND IT WAS UP TO THE US TO ESTABLISH THE BENCH MARKS. HERE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAD OFTEN BEEN TOO RETICENT. WORLD NEEDED US TO BE CLEAR AND LOUD ON BASIC ISSUES. WHILE US HAD SPOKEN UP ON ITALY, IT HAD NOT DONE SO FOR THE REST OF WESTERN EUROPE. AND IN SOMALIA (WHERE LOMBARDY HAS SPECIAL INTERESTS) US HAD

ABANDONED PERSECUTED OGADEN MINORITY PROBABLY AS PRICE IN  
BIG POWER POLITICS. RESULT WAS THAT USSR BENEFITED FROM  
US RESTRAINT. IT WAS TIME FOR US TO "INTERFERE", NOT BY  
SIDING WITH ANY PARTY FACTION OR INDIVIDUAL, BUT BY SPEAKING  
OUT CLEARLY ON MAJOR WORLD ISSUES AND PARTICULARLY UPON SOVIET EXPAN-  
SION.FINA

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## Message Attributes

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